DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 203 373 CS 206 446

AUTHOR de Beer, Arnold S.
TITLE Press Responsibility Based on Professionalism--A Typology of Attributes.
PUB DATE Aug 81
NOTE 35p.: Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism (64th, East Lansing, MI, August 8-11, 1981).

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Attitude Change; Change Strategies; Classification; *Journalism; Professional Development; *Reputation; *Responsibility; *Standards
IDENTIFIERS *Professionalism

ABSTRACT

Arguing that professionalism constitutes a method according to which journalism is able to consolidate its position in society and gain the confidence of governments and the public, this paper discusses some theoretical parameters that can serve as a conceptual basis for journalistic professionalization. Noting that according to the sociology of occupations professionalism is not a singular concept, the paper posits a model of journalistic professionalization consisting of three dimensions: knowledge, orientation, and structure/organization. It then discusses briefly the knowledge and orientation dimensions and offers an indepth presentation of the structure/organization dimension. The paper concludes that it is essential that journalism should progress on all three dimensions toward a more complete form of professionalism. (FL)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official NIE position or policy.

ED203373

PRESS RESPONSIBILITY BASED ON PROFESSIONALISM - A TYPOLOGY OF ATTRIBUTES

By

ARNOLD S DE BEER
SENIOR LECTURER
DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNICATION
RAND AFRIKAANS UNIVERSITY
JOHANNESBURG
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Arnold S. de Beer

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

Presented to the Qualitative Studies Division at the Association for Education in Journalism, Annual Convention in East Lansing, Michigan, August 1981.

CS206446

1. INTRODUCTION

In the past two decades the press has been the subject of intense criticism for the manner in which it performs its task and function in Western democracies (Brown 1974: 1-20; Hohenberg, 1978: 39-132). The result has been (especially since the 1960's) increased pressure from government and the public to gain access to the editorial process and demand an increasing measure of professional responsibility and accountability from the press (Barron, 1975; Schmidt, 1976).

The insistence of outside organisations and individuals to prescribe to journalists and the press in general how they should do their work in a responsible manner has led Walter Cronkite to remark that journalists are:

> "...sick and mighty tired of this profession of ours being constantly dragged into the operating room and dissected, probed, swabbed and needled to see what makes it tick" (Gallagher, 1967:11).

But, as suggested by the South African newspaper editor and at present professor in journalism, P.J. Cillié, it is precisely the task and responsibility of the press to continuously examine itself:

> "We journalists are very much creatures of habit ... which makes it all the more necessary to stand back now and again to examine our function in society and to ask ourselves if we are doing a proper job. If we do not do that ourselves, others with less knowledge and insight are likely to try and do it for us, and their criticisms may be badly informed and remedies potentially harmful to our freedom as well as our vigour and responsibility" (Cillié, 1980b:67).

It is argued in this paper that professionalization constitutes a method according to which the press is able to consolidate its position in society and gain the increased confidence of governments and the public. As LeRoy (1973:263) puts it:

> "Journalism is a public act open to public scrutiny ... (and) professionalism is the public's defence against malpractice."

Professionalism should, however, not only be considered as a counter-reaction or response to public pressure. Because of its important role in society, the press has not only an inherent duty and responsibility to professionalize but also a duty of doing this more effectively (compare the American Commission on Freedom of the Press, 1947, and the South African media investigation of 1980, see Steyn Commission, para. 196, 197).

One of the fundamental problems with regard to the issue of professionalism is simply that there is no clearly demarcated or prescriptive method according to which an occupation may become a profession. Certain aspects of the professionalization process are often held up as being the most important or even the exclusive conditions for professionalism (for example the creation of a professional council or code of conduct). The professionalization process entails much more. As in the case of news and news values (Fathi, 1973) there is still no comprehensive index of professionalization attributes to which journalism has to comply. Researchers in the USA (such as Lattimore & Nayman, 1974; LeRoy, 1972/73; McLeod & Hawley, 1964; McLeod & Rush, 1969; Nayman, 1973 and Schwartz, 1977; 1978a; 1978b) have subjected certain attributes to empirical investigations, but on the whole a theoretical framework is lacking.

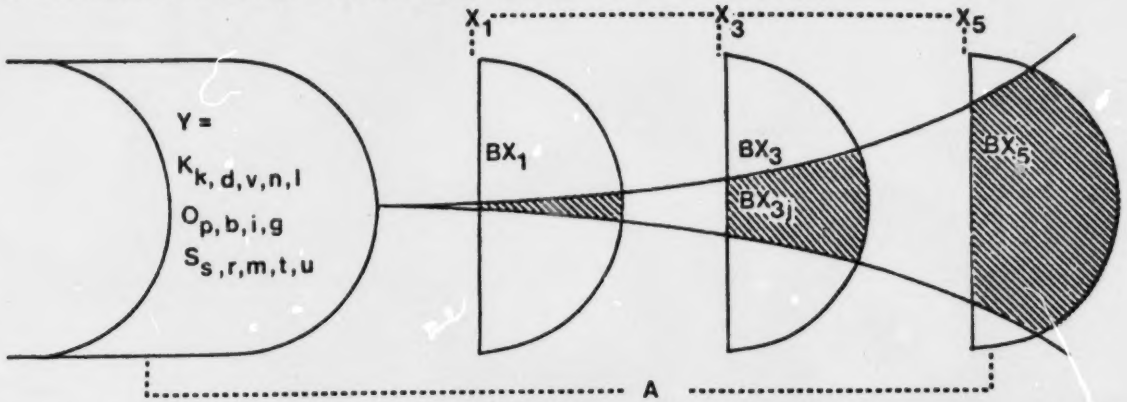
This discussion approaches the issue of journalistic professionalism in terms of South African conditions - a country with a journalistic academic tradition strongly under the influence of American thinking, But, at the same time being an African country, still removed from the main stream of academic research on this topic. The purpose of this discussion is to indicate some theoretical parameters which could serve as a conceptual basis for journalistic professionalization.

2. STATEMENT OF A THEORETICAL PROFESSIONALISM MODEL

Professionalism is not a singular concept, and according to the sociology of occupations it is possible to distinguish several levels of analysis and particular points of view.

Against the background of sociological research, compare e.g. Barber (1965); Carr-Saunders & Williamson (1933); Flexner (1915); Greenwood (1966); Lieberman (1956); Moore (1970); Pavalko (1971); Ritzer (1973); Taylor (1968), the development process of occupations may be projected on a continuum ranging from a low or non-existent level of professionalism to a level of high professionalism where certain occupations feature fewer or more professionalization attributes. According to a professionalization analysis of newspaper journalism (De Beer, 1980) three particular dimensions may be distinguished on such a continuum, viz. knowledge, orientation and structure-organization. These dimensions were conceptualized following an analysis of sociological literature on professionalism and the professionalizing process.[1] By means of qualitative analysis of recent and standard texts in this field (see above), basic professional attributes were cross indexed according to the three dimensions. It was established that definite clusters of attributes could be distinguished on a continuum as is shown in the JP model.

A JOURNALISTIC PROFESSIONALISM MODEL (The JP Model)



In this model A represents a certain social system in which Y, a three-fold division of professionalizing attributes appear.

The first level K (knowledge dimension) consists of the following attributes: K_k (knowledge); K_d (education); K_v (skill); K_n (research) and $K_.$ (academic literature).

The second level (orientation dimension) consists of: O_p (personality); O_n (occupation); O_i (collegial) and O_g (societal).

The third level, S (structure-organisation dimension) consists of: S_s (structure), S_r (organisation), S_m (monopoly); S_t (authority); and S_u (autonomy).

These three dimensions form the basis for professionalism. Because of the professionilzation process an occupation may at a given stage have more or fewer of the applicable attributes. Consequently in the model occupations are indicated on a five-point scale according to which no or few signs of professionalism are present (BX_1); occupations showing increasing signs of professionalism (BX_3) and occupations with a high degree of professionalism (BX_5). According to this model and for purposes of this discussion journalism may be characterised as BX_{3j}, e.g. an occupation with some professionalization attributes and situated between a non-profession and an ostensibly true profession on the professionalism continuum.

The three dimensions and their various attributes are distinguishable in a qualitative but not necessarily separable in a quantitative analytical sense since there is an underlying causal relation between the dimensions and their attributes. In this conceptual model the distinguishable features are not given in the form of quantitative variables but rather as qualitative attributes. For the purpose of this discussion the attributes are analysed according to qualitative differences of degree (see Denzin, 1973:99).

The three professionalism dimensions are consequently discussed as a basis for responsible journalistic practice. Brief references will be made to the knowledge and orientation dimension after which the structure-organisation dimension is presented in greater depth.

3. THE KNOWLEDGE DIMENSION OF PROFESSIONALISM

The knowledge dimension consists of five distinguishable attributes.

3.1 Body of knowledge

When applying professional skills, the practitioner (professional) relies on a source of knowledge which is organised in an internally

related system of knowledge (body of knowledge) resulting in substantive theory (compare Greenwood, 1966:11). It is of crucial importance that for journalism the knowledge attribute be considered as one of the central elements in the process of professionalism.

Futurologists (Freidson, 1973:27) agree that in the next two decades there will be increasing demands for specialised knowledge and expertise in handling information. Because of the knowledge and technological explosion of a post-industrial and knowledgable society (Mok, 1973:24-25; 66) there will be high demands for responsible conduct on the part of those (i.e. journalists) enganged in the production of knowledge (identification, analysis and processing). Journalism will have to convince (Bagdikian, 1974a:199) a better informed public that it is not only a so called neutral and objective information channel but that it is capable of reorientation in a professional and responsible manner with regard to knowledge (i.e. privileged access to military and security knowledge).

3.2 Professional theory

Together with a basic system or body of knowledge, a profession should have a clear theoretical foundation. In contrast to what is often maintained, there is as far as journalism is concerned a relatively extended theory system (e.g. Hardt, 1979; McCombs & Becker, 1979; Merrill, 1974; Rivers & Schramm, 1969). The question, however, is to what extent do these theoretical principles find expression in practice. The question will also have to be raised of whether journalists contemplate theory as it relates to their discipline and in this sense possible influences on society. Furthermore whether they have the professional ability to apply this knowledge in the context of a knowledge system allowing theorizing and research. Attention is drawn to two examples in this connection.

3.2.1 News values

It is one of the most serious limitations of journalism as a professional occupation that it still lacks a coherent theory on the most important activity of the journalist namely that of news (although a few important works did appear over the last few years in this regard, e.g. Cohen & Young, 1973; Fascell, 1979; Hulteng, 1979; Johnstone, Slawski & Bowman, 1976; LeRoy & Sterling, 1973; Schlesinger, 1978; Tuchman, 1978). As opposed to true professions (e.g. the medical and the legal profession) this fundamental journalistic activity does not take place in a prior determined and encompassing theoretical framework but is instead determined largely through processes of socialisation and experience (Breed, 1955).

In a recent investigation it was found that news values may be distinguished in two dimensions (De Beer, 1977), a spatial dimension of time, geographical distance and psycho-social distance and an intensity dimension where a distinction is drawn between news values of the status quo, magnitude (qualitative and quantitative) and novelty. Although news values as dealt with by many journalistic text book authors (De Beer, 1977, discuss news values as described by writers such as Bond, Charnley, Crump, Doig & Doig, Giles, Gilmore and Root, Harris, Wolseley & Campbell) may be seen as operationalizing factors allowing the observation of news events and in this sense be considered as a professional shorthand, they are rarily used as verbally manifested evaluation values and in all probability never used by practising journalists for purposes of conceptual modelling. This occurs presumably because journalists acquire these traditional news values mostly unconsciously with the resultant internalisation. Also it is not expected of journalists when performing news evaluation to use a formal or informal scale of news values. News sense in practice is often ascribed to non-professional notions such as intuition, experience and the like. As to the question of whether use is made of any theoretical scale of news values in a professional sense:

"...by which the news commodity can be weighed to determine its specific gravity or importance - or weight of its reader appeal. The best answer is 'No'. Just as the news essence, so also the news magnitude is best recognized or felt by intuition or instinct - the nose for news" (Harris & Stanley, 1965:33).

It is not only news values which are lacking in the professional-theoretical base but also answers to the crucial question of objectivity which demands responsible contemplation and eventually a sound theory for application in practice.

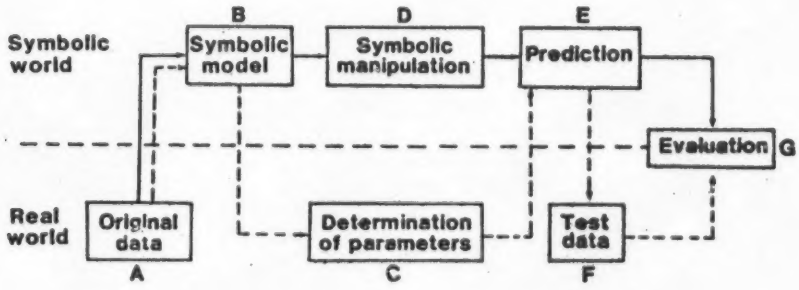
3.2.2 Objectivity

Although objectivity has developed over the years as the most important characteristic enabling the journalist to evaluate, write and present news in a professional manner (Tuchman, 1973:123, 1971-72:672) it is noticeable that journalists themselves have on the whole hardly investigated the concept of objectivity and where this was the case produced impressionistic writings (Atkins, 1977:26). Objectivity in journalism has therefore not developed as a professional standard *per se* but rather as a convention or organisational imperative according to which the journalist does his job. As such it lacks a disciplined frame of reference and has not allowed the journalist opportunities for critical evaluation and perspectives concerning the quality of this work. What did happen is that objectivity took the form of a routine according to which journalists were given a *post hoc* rationale allowing a justification of their professional performance (Glasser & Donohue, 1978:3).

One of the most important elements which the journalist encounters in practice is to bring his conception of reality in line with concrete or real news events. This he does by using words as arbitrary symbols to express meaning. Words *per se* do not carry singular meaning (Brooks, 1978:64). Each receiver of a news report will therefore give his or her own unique personal meaning to the words and their relation in a report. Consequently news reporting is

nothing more than an arbitrary substitute for the actual news event (or as phrased by Cillié, 1967, a news report is not a mirror of reality but it is rather like an impressionistic painting).

In judging responsible press action it is important to note that because of the nature of his profession, the journalist does not proceed as a scientist would namely to consider all the relevant variables before presenting his research report in the form of a news report. This situation may be presented graphically in an adapted version of Bross' (1970:21) model:



When deciding on objective news the problem facing the journalist (compare the above figure) is one of taking a short cut between the original data in the real world through B, D and E and eventually to G, because of the many social system and media factors. He proceeds unlike the social scientist who incorporates steps C and F.

If journalism has any claim to objectivity as one of the characteristics for professionalism, attention will most certainly have to be given to that of observation, testing of data and the conditions for traditional news values.

3.3 Education and training

Probably one of the most pol mical issues in the professionalization

of journalism is that of education and training. This applies equally to a country such as South Africa as the USA where most of the research in this field has been done. One of the crucial questions in this connection is whether the journalist is a craftsman or an academically trained person. Considerable attention was given to this matter at the first South African conference on the teaching of Journalism (Rand Afrikaans University, 1977) and during the Survival of the Press conference held in Grahamstown in 1979. No consensus however was reached between academics and journalists on this issue at these conferences.

A very real problem for professionalism centres on the lack of support by the journalistic practice as a whole for tertiary (especailly university) education in journalism. As far as this attribute is concerned it makes little sense not to agree with the view that the teaching of professional skills should be complemented by some level of academic scholarship (Pienaar, 1977:8).

During the 1977 and 1979 conferences it became clear that journalism would have to give its undivided attention to certain aspects in this context:

* Journalistic practice would have to become closer involved with the tertiary training of journalists (e.g. in determining course contents).
* A system such as found in the USA will have to be designed according to which courses as well as those teaching these are accredited.
* The industry should increase significantly its financial contribution and participation in the creation of training facilities. In a period in which Universities feel the financial pinch more and more, it would for example be unrealistic of the Press to expect students to be adequately trained in the use of electronic apparatus if they do not even have access to old fashioned manual typewriters.
* Professionalism in the true sense of the term will only be possible once journalistic qualifications serve as entry requirements to the profession.

3.4 Skills, research and subject literature as components of the knowledge dimension

Besides the theoretical and teaching facets of the knowledge dimension there is the acquisition and application of certain occupational skills and research which together play an important role in extending the knowledge dimension eventually leading to its embodiment in the subject literature.

(a) Skill. A profession demands a particularly high or even superior level or degree of technical skill. The demand for specific skills in a profession is however one of the characteristics about which there seems to be a lot of confusion.

In contrast to what is often assumed, it has been shown in a recent investigation of senior South African journalists and lecturers in journalism (De Beer, 1980) that there exists a considerable level of agreement as to what this attribute in the professionalism process should encompass. Both groups have placed a high premium on the need for journalists to possess basic skills enabling them to write news reports in a lucid and appealing style; that journalists be bilingual and possess the skill to identify news situations. It was also held as essential that more attention be given to language skills in the context of journalistic curricula. It also appeared that amongst some lecturers and departments a need was felt for the reassessment of the development of skills as part of the training set-up. It has to be accepted that the acquisition of sills constitutes a significant facet of the professionalism process and that it be incorporated in an integrated manner in the university curriculum,

(b) Research and subject literature. In South Africa these two attributes rate rather low as far as the ranking of the professionalism process is concerned. Regarding the former there seems to be a need to initiate relevant research which could result from interaction

between the practitioners and academics. Neither practical journalism nor teaching and research departments should remain passive observers of each other. The latter could show a greater measure of sensitivity for relevant basic and applied practice-orientated research in order to be meaningful for professionalism on this level.

As far as subject literature is concerned journalism in the context of the professionalism continuum seems to be merely at the beginning. Pienaar (1968) argued at the time that hardly anything worthwhile had been written in South Africa concerning the press, its problems, its influence, its role in society and its rights. It seems clear that considerable attention will have to be given to research and subject literature as journalistic professionalization elements.

4. PROFESSIONAL ORIENTATION

The majority of researchers working in this area have come to the conclusion that the professional exhibits a typical orientation with regard to certain aspects which is absent among non-professional occupations. This orientation may be characterised in the words of Wilensky (1964:105) as being the professional's 'role concepts, role orientations, job identification and reference groups'. The professional's orientation may in particular be taken to be his orientation towards him or herself as practitioner of a profession, towards the profession and colleagues and towards the public.

There are few empirical research findings as to the concept which journalists would have of themselves concerning their professional practice. In one of the few existing works, Surlin (1976) distinguishes between journalists with a fatalistic orientation as opposed to an

authoritarian orientation. Nell (1978) has drawn a connection between power motive amongst journalists as it affects news selection. In general the research is evidence of impressionistic view points (often of journalists themselves). In this context Cillié (1967) has stated that the journalist is someone trying to gauge the interests of the public and satisfying these.

> "He should put himself in the place of the reader or important sections of the reading public and ask the question what it is they want, what they want to know, what will interest them."

This aspect poses considerable problems for professionalism. In general it appears that there are differences between the journalist's conception of what the public would want and his experience of the sheer reality of news. Bagdikian (1947b:134) argues:

> "There are disparities between the professional journalist's views of 'reality' as he percieves it and as he believes his public needs to see it or wishes to see it ... this raises the question whether the professional journalist exercises professionalized standard criteria for the selection of news based solely on some collective professional assessment of the scene or whether such an assessment legitimately needs to be moderated to meet the perceptions and desires of the audience."

According to certain research results, however, it would appear that journalists do have a relatively accurate opinion of reading preferences (Martin, O'Keefe & Nayman, 1972) and that readers of a given newspaper would probably have selected the same news as the editorial staff (Galow, 1973). Yet, Bagdikian (1974b:134) maintains that there are contradictions in the professional journalist's perception of reality and his idea of how potential readers would or ought to interpret the same reality as far as the news is concerned. Findings in this connection by Gieber (1956), Johnson (1963) and Atwood (1970) have been supported in a nation wide survey by Atwood & Grotta (1973).

The professional person also has a special relationship with the client - the former being the expert and the latter the novice (Steyn, 1976:114). The most prominent element in this relation is the service orientation (Moore, 1970:13-15). In genuine professions, the professional has a specific service orientation

which relates towards altruistic rather than financial gain. The reason for this would be that the professional considers his job more of a calling than merely an occupation for the sake of material gain (Greenwood, 1966:17).

For journalism as a professionalizing occupation this element presents special problems. If it is accepted that the genuine profession is not geared towards financial gain, the press at present simply does not qualify as a profession. As Bogart (1974:123) has shown with regard to journalistic professional personnel in the organisational structure of the mass media, the journalist is subjected to management pressure while doing his job. In the first instance it is not the service motive but rather the decision of the owners of a newspaper which primarily influences the manner in which journalism is conducted.

Together with the knowledge and orientation dimension, journalism, as is the case with other professionalizing occupations, also shows a particular structure-organisational dimension. This is briefly dealt with in the following section.

5. THE STRUCTURE/ORGANISATION DIMENSION AS RATIONAL AND METHOD FOR PROFESSIONALISM

The particular nature of the profession leads to the development of a characteristic structure and organisation constituting a specific facet of the society of which it is part and in which the particular profession is practiced (Steyn, 1976:116-117). This structure and organisation results in attributes such as monopoly, authority and autonomy.

5.1 Structure/organisation

One of the essential attributes of professions is that professional practitioners ought to be able to organise themselves in specialised formal organisations or bureaucracies of which the structure allows

the achievement of certain professional objectives (Hughes, 1965: 24-25).

With regard to Weber's (1946) theory of the bureaucratization of the world, it is not always possible to realise the ideal concept of the true professional in the sense of being independent and working individually. As shown by Wentink (1972:84) journalism is a typically bureaucratical organisational form, characteristic of the technology-orientated industry of the 20th century.

As far as structure and organisation of the daily press and journalism is concerned, several authors have indicated that vast changes in the management function can be expected in the next decade. These changes will be the result of amongst others, financial and technological factors as well as the changing reading behaviour of recipients.

Changes in the structure and organisation of the press will, in the nature of things, also have an influence on the professionalization attributes such as monopoly, authority and autonomy.

5.2 Monopoly

One of the primary goals of an occupation developing towards a profession is to gain a monopoly of services and knowledge (Greenwood, 1966:14). But no profession can exercise complete and exclusive control over its activities. The exclusive possession of knowledge and associated techniques or at least claiming a superior application of the latter is something which all professions will strive for. The reason for this may be found in the fact that a monopoly enables a profession to act authoritatively and gain autonomy over its activities.

Superficially as well as in a technological sense it appears as if this professionalization attribute constitutes special problems

for journalism. With the arrival of off-set printing it has become possible to act as a journalist at a low cost (compare for instance Glessing, 1970 on the underground press; Bittner, 1977:78-80; 448-452).

No special professional knowledge or superior technical facility and insight is expected of the above mentioned alternative press journalists. The same could well apply to a junior member of the editorial staff of a quality-daily who has to write a news report on a common event.

As shown by Hughes (1965:9-14) with regard to traditional professions such as medicine, professionalism will occur increasingly within bureaucratic structures and consequently results in a greater diversity and qualitative differences in individual professionalization. To comply with the latter it will be necessary for journalism to have more authority and autonomy as far as professional activities are concerned. This is not particularly difficult if one accepts that important quality dailies are increasingly moving towards monopolistic control and hence offer greater possibilities for authority (Sandman et al, 1976:110-125). But it will also be necessary that the journalist in this bureaucratic monopolistic system is able to maintain himself as a professional. How this can happen may be seen from the following two sections.

5.3 Authority

Each true profession aims at persuading the community that public sanction should be given to it in order to act independently (Greenwood, 1966:13; Pavalko, 197[illegible]:18).

Greenwood (1966:12-13) indicates a clear distinction between customers of a profession and clients. In the case of the former, customers have to be satisfied and the professional acts in such a way that he always complies with this demand. The expression

the customer is always right is a telling example in this connection. The client, however, has to rely on the authority of the professional. The argument being that the client does not possess a theoretical knowledge system to enable him to arrive at an expert decision. An extreme form of specialisation leads to the argument that all professionals render a service on the basis of equivalent authority. As such, professions are against advertising. And here it is a matter of the client merely approaching the professional since he himself is not able to evaluate the services of a professional.

The crucial aspect of the authority element is the fact that the client has a high degree of confidence in the expertise and moral integrity of the professional (Wentink, 1972:85). According to this view there is no reason why the professional journalist should not have the benefit of public sanction especially by means of extending the knowledge dimension. Because of the capitalistic system in which the Western press functions, competition between newspapers will continue, also to satisfy a general need for a certain type of news among customers. This should not prevent the journalist to act authoritatively and with expertise.

The history of many quality newspapers shows that authoritative newspapers tend in the long term to become financially strong as well (compare Emery & Emery, 1978:461).

It is, however, not sufficient that the journalist claims authoritative status with regard to the handling of news merely because of his expertise, his professional orientation and structural-organisational aspects such as monopoly and authority. It is also essential that journalism gains full autonomy in order to have full authority over their work.

5.4 Autonomy

It is generally accepted that the degree of autonomy of members constitutes the most important characteristic of a profession

(Daniels, 1973:39). The essence of the professionalization element is simply that the professional should have full autonomy in order to control the quantitative and qualitative results of his work (Freidson, 1973:33). It is essential for the professional that he and his colleagues are allowed internally or externally by means of collegial access to act autonomously with regard to all aspects of the profession (Taylor, 1968:481). This means that all members possess the necessary knowledge in order to allow acceptance of their competence concerning professional conduct among the various professional colleagues (Daniels, 1973: 41). The latter author also shows how professional evaluation ought to be done ad hoc so as to allow colleagues to arrive at the same decision post hoc.

The issue of autonomy seems to present particular problems for journalism. In the debate as to the specific professional role and competencies of the journalist in the society, it was Head (1963:598) who probably summarised this issue most appropriately when he said:

> "It is one of the crosses of the journalistic profession, I'm afraid, that everyone with authority is likely to consider himself a journalism expert."

Among traditional professions it is crucial that the professional group concerned have their board of control in which professional colleagues have an exclusive say over the conduct of the profession (Daniels, 1973:52-54). In most cases the profession is sanctioned by the State to function autonomously. This sanction is usually based on the public or government's satisfaction that the profession is able to control its practitioners and in this manner assuring the maintenance of certain standards as well as controlling access to the profession. In addition misconduct is punishable either internally or in terms of certain legislation and such members would have to appear in court. In most cases professional controlling bodies have the sanction of the authorities and consist exclusively of representatives of the profession (Daniels, 1973: 54-56).

In many Western countries the control of the press is, however, in the hands of novices or non-journalists. Wright (1978:10) makes this quite explicit: "Any regulation which exists in American mass communication is carried out by non-journalists."

In most cases action is taken by professional councils or is a result of legislation. Usually the responsible journalist would be the editor-in-chief and not the individual journalist. This does not lead to a development of a feeling of professionalism among journalists because they are not being encouraged to accept individual responsibility for their conduct (compare Windahl & Rosengren, 1976:146, for the situation in Sweden; Wentink, 1972: 101, for the situation in the Netherlands; Tunstall, 1978:16-17, for that in Britain and Ashmore, 1972:229, for that in the USA and Pienaar, 1968:75-180, for a historical overview of the South African situation).

The absence of responsibility demanded from the individual member of the editorial staff also means that there is no genuine autonomy as far as internal and external control is concerned (Nayman, 1973: 209).

In the context of the autonomy attribute it is essential that the press gives its attention to certain specific elements. The most important of these concerns , professional organisation, supervision and control of newcomers, and members of the profession.

(a) <u>The development of professional organisations</u>

A further essential feature of professions is the establishment of professional organisations with the express purpose of autonomy and self-control. According to Barber (1965:25) it is essential that professionals in these organisations develop and extend their knowledge system as well as co-ordinating and controlling their activities. The more professional the specific occupation, the more powerful the organisation as an autonomous body through which the profession determines its norms and standards (Freidson, 1973:33; Daniels, 1973:40-56).

As far as genuine professional organisations are concerned one must conclude that these do hardly exist in the context of journalism. In a country such as the Netherlands the organisation of practitioners is based on the idea of a trade union (Wentink, 1972:87).

In the United States which probably offers the best example of journalistic or press organisations in the West, it has been stated by LeRoy (1973:252) that most of these organisations and associations "are quite weak and disorganised. Most are organised around a parochial core of occupational attributes." There are associations for newspaper owners, for editors, for broadcast journalists, for news correspondents, etc. These organisations have little control over their members and the various codes "are more often statements of principle, rather than enforcable standards of practice" (LeRoy, 1973:252).

In Britain, the National Association of Journalists was founded in 1884 with the idea that it should be based on recognised professions. The National Union of Journalists founded in 1907 had a typical trade union orientation and is up to the present geared almost exclusively towards negotiation with press management on matters such as wages (Golding, 1974:75). Since the 1970's there seems to be a tendency of the latter to get involved with problems such as education and training.

In contrast to English-language journalists and Black journalists in South Africa, there is no professional organisation for Afrikaans-speaking journalists. Most of the English-speaking journalists are joined in the South African Society of Journalists which as a multi-racial body allowes membership of all language and racial groups. The South African Black journalists are members of the Writers Association of South Africa (WASA) which excludes white membership.

According to Steyn (1976:117) the highest degree of professionalism is probably constituted by a professional organisation which registers its members and as such controls their professional activities.

The SASJ does to a certain extent control membership and activities, but it is a voluntary union unable to exercise sanctions over the profession as a whole. This also applies to the Afrikaans-language press which for historical and especially political reasons has never co-operated with the SASJ.

The most important reason as to why there has never been a proper professional organisation for journalists in South Africa is because the Press itself, but also the Press Owners' Association, the South African Press Union, have apparently never seen the use for such a body. A second reason is the lack of interest among the journalistic academics. Since 1977 efforts to establish an interest-group for such a body by the South African Society for Lecturers and Researchers in Communication Science (SACOMM) have not been successful.

(b) Supervision and control of training and entry to the profession

A distinguishing feature of a profession is regulation of the selection of entry members of the profession as well as supervision of their training by means of control of the curriculum contents and the quality of the teaching (Steyn, 1976:117).

In general it may be concluded that there is a tendency in a country such as the USA to appoint students who have graduated in journalism to editorial positions (Johnstone, et al, 1976:236), whilst in Britain considerable control is exercised through trade union training by the National Council for the Training of Journalists (NCTJ, 1975:1-34). In Western-European countries such as West-Germany and Switzerland quality newspapers do not demand journalistic training on entering the 'profession'.

Although there is also a tendency in South Africa, especially among Afrikaans-language newspapers, to appoint communication or journalism students, each editorial staff decides individually as to whom it

appoints. This often takes place on the basis of non-academic or technical competency considerations such as the applicant's willingness to associate him or herself with the aims and general policy of the newspaper (De Beer, 1977:91). Unlike established professions the press or press organisations such as the Press Union and the SASJ have no direct influence or control on the quality of lecturers in journalism and on the standard of teaching or examinations.

Summarised, therefore, there is an infra structure for the control of teaching (compare also 3.2) and regulating entry. However, on this score the journalistic 'profession' in South Africa has not progressed much, especially as far as a formal-organisational level on the professionalization continuum is concerned.

(c) Professional code

The entire issue of teaching and training together with entry requirements and control of the profession's members is related to the question of professional codes. A profession which is unable to establish a code of which all the elements are enforceable, cannot lay claim to professionalism in its true sense. As to the necessity of the former in the context of journalism, Pienaar (1968:209-210) more than 12 years ago, said that as far as South Africa was concerned, the (then) Press Council and Code of Conduct were hopelessly inadequate for creating conditions in which it would not be necessary for the State to intervene in the functioning of journalism. He argued the merits of giving the Press Council powers to act against those who failed to adhere to the primary obligations of the press, namely reliable reporting as well as intelligent and reasonable comment. He advocated the opening of a register of serving journalists in order to make a possible suspension effective. In addition there would have to be support for a code of conduct by all news organisations and journalists. Three years ago the situation in South Africa was no different from then.

Pienaar (1977:6-7) refers in this connection to the opinion of Justice de Villiers, the first chairman of the Press Council when he emphasised the lack of control as far as entry to the profession was concerned. Pienaar (1977:8-8) concludes that the essential question was the willingness and ability of the Press to act like an established profession in enforcing a code of conduct. He is of the opinion that either the Press or the State should tighten up entry requirements to journalism as well as facilitating leaving the profession. In the event he prefers the former doing this job.

More explicitly Pienaar proposed as far as the register was concerned (1968:209-210) that in order to make such a register meaningfull the status of journalists should be raised, and in this way attract sufficient journalists who would be able to comply with the demands of the profession. He pleaded for a systematic increase of standards which in his words would lead to greater respect by the State as well as the public for the Press and its practitioners and in consequence facilitate the gathering of information and enhance the authority of press commentary.

In the absence of properly enforceable codes (also as a result of a lack of universal norms, compare Hulteng, 1976:1-4) in the Western press set-up (compare the comprehensive work of Rampal, 1976) there has been an insistence in the past decade, especially in the USA and certain West-European countries, that journalists and the public ought to have admittance and access to the editorial process.

(d) Access to the editorial process

Three facets concerning access and accountability may be distinguished.

(i) Press councils

Press councils may be found in most countries and with the exception of France virtually all industrialised democracies have some or other form of press council (compare Rampal, 1976). But as indicated by Bertrand (1977:217) in his evaluation of these councils, little is known about their functioning and on the whole they are not very effective since they are often viewed by newspaper owners as a method forcing the media to serve the public opinion. In addition there is a continuous strife between the Press and the Authorities which may be characterised according to Hohenberg (1978:39) and Pienaar (1968:22) as an adversary relationship.

Whilst some press councils are more effective than others, for example the British Press Council (Paul, 1972:20), there seems to be a resistance against the idea that press councils should develop along the lines of medical or legal professional councils (Hendriks, 1976:21). This view has led especially in the USA to a support for public access to the Press.

(ii) Access by the public

Following the Scandinavian concept of the ombudsman (Hultenig, 1976:234-235) specific persons were appointed to the editorial staffs of certain American newspapers in the 1960's to act on behalf of the public as watchdogs and in this manner demanding a greater responsibility of the press (compare Babb, 1976 for a compendium on the activities of the Washington Post's ombudsman; note also the work of press critics such as Barron, 1975; Bagdikian, 1969).

The insistence on a greater measure of self-criticism (compare Diamond, 1976) and the demand for more access of the public to the press (compare Schmidt, 1976; Barron, 1975) has led to the development of various internal methods by the press to improve contact with the public.

As shown by Sanders (1975:148-168) and Bittner (1977:288-304) these efforts were largely aimed at achieving a greater measure of involvement of the journalist and the reader in the news process but also to keep the control of the journalistic task in the hands of the press.

Examples of these actions were the establishment of the already mentioned ombudsman programmes, as well as advisory councils, accuracy reports published in newspapers after reader response had been received, daily columns for corrections, bigger and better reader surveys and the development of special pages for reader opinion apart from the traditional letters to the editor.

In contrast to certain Western European countries where there is a legal right for the public to answer in the press (compare Platel, 1971) all these internal measures were organised on a voluntary basis. In the American-British-South African configuration there is no legal right on the part of the public to have access to the editorial process through any of the internal measures. In Britain and South Africa and certain Federal States in the USA access to a press council is possible on the grounds of complaints about certain reports. As shown by Baker & Ball (1972:55-59) the Press will have to do considerably more if it wants to react genuinely, and in a positive way towards ciriticism by the public and the State. Shaw (1977:229) is of the opinion:

> "Newspapers are responding to their changing environment; whether their response will prove to have been quick enough - and intelligent enough - is something that can only be judged by future generations of readers ... and non-readers."

A responsible press will not only have to react to the demands of the State and the public but also increasingly to the demands of journalists which may be clear from the brief discussion.

(iii) Access by journalists

Press managements will also increasingly have to take cognisance of what is known in Western Europe as journalistic access (Boone, 1977: 1-4) or editorial participation (Bartman, Van Dijk, Hofland, Kempers, Spanjer, Tromp and Wieten, 1974:5).

With access is meant here a situation in which members of an editorial staff are successful to either influence or at least voice their opinion regarding decisions made on editorial matters. The term therefore covers situations where members are informed about specific decisions, whilst they are also consulted about contentious matters before decisions are taken.

Participation also involves amongst others that members are allowed to participate in the decision-making process and in certain circumstances execute decisions or veto these. The term implies a situation where the editorial staff has a decisive influence on the preparation, the taking and execution of every decision relating to editorial or even the press' commercial policy. In order to professionalize journalism, serious attention will have to be given to this aspect. According to Bartman et al (1974:1) there is a strong case for the argument that journalists as professionals (having a special function in society) also have to have access and in this sense participate in the way in which this function is performed.

6. SUMMARY

From the discussion it is clear that professionalism as a basis for press responsibility is a wide ranging topic. If professionalism is viewed on a continuum of three dimensions (knowledge, orientation and structure/organisation) it is also clear that the Press may be considered as a professionalizing occupation.

If, however, the press were to claim that it is indeed a professional occupation and consequently decide on its professional conduct, then it is essential that the press makes sure about its progress on all the levels of professionalism. And similarly more insight and

knowledge on the part of the critics about the wide-ranging task of the press will lead to more clarity and a meaningful dialogue on an aspect such as press responsibility.

REFERENCES

Ashmore, H.S. (1972). The case for professionalism. In: Holmgren, R. & Norton, W. eds. (1972). The mass media book. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 225-235.

Atkins, G. (1977). In search of new objectivity. In: Sellers, L.L. & Rivers, W.L. eds. (1977). Mass media issues. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 26-37.

Atwood, L.E. (1970). How newsmen and readers perceive each others' story preferences. Journalism Quarterly, 47, 296-302.

Atwood, L.E. & Grotta, G.L. (1973). Socialization of news values in beginning reporters. Journalism Quarterly, 50, 759-763.

Babb, L.L. ed. (1976). Of the press, by the press, for the press, and others, too. A critical study of the inside workings of the news business. From the news pages, editorials, columns and internal staff memos of The Washington Post. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Bagdikian, B. (1969). Right of access: a modest proposal. Columbia Journalism Review, 8(1), 10-13.

Bagdikian, B.H. (1974a). Considerations on the future of American journalism. In: Flippen, C. ed. (1974). Liberating the media: the New Journalism. Washington: Acropolis, 192-202.

Bagdikian, B.H. (1974b). Professional personnel and organizational structure in the mass media. In: Davison, W.P. & Yu, F.T.C. eds. (1974). Mass communication research. Major issues and future directions. New York: Praeger, 122-141.

Baker, R.K. & Ball, S.J. (1972). The marketplace myth: access to the mass media. In: Holmgren, R. & Norton, W. eds. (1972). The mass media book. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 47-62.

Barber, B. (1965). Some problems in the sociology of professions. In: Lynn, K.S. ed. (1965). The professions in America. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Barron, J.A. (1975). Freedom of the press for whom? The right of access to mass media. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Bartman, V., Van Dijk, A., Hofland, A., Kempers, F., Spanjer, J.M., Tromp, J. & Wieten, J. (1974). Rapport van de werkgroep: Redactionele medezeggenschap. Amsterdam: Instituut voor Persweten-schap, Universiteit van Amsterdam.

Bertrand, C.J. (1977). Press councils: an evaluation. Gazette, 23, 217-229.

Bittner, J.R. (1977). Mass communication: an introduction. Theory and practice of mass media in society. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

Bogart, L. (1974). Urban papers under pressure. Columbia Journalism Review, 12(3), 30-43.

Boone, L. (1977). Rolverschuivingen bij de uitgevers, journalistiek kaderpersoneel en journalisten. Communicatie, 7(1), 1-4.

Breed, W. (1955). Social control in the news room. Social Forces, 33, 323-335.

Brooks, W.D. (1978). Speech communication. Dubuque, Iowa: Brown.

Bross, I.D.J. (1970). Models. In: Campbell, J.H. & Hepler, H.W. eds. (1970). Dimensions in communications: readings. Belmont, California: Wadsworth, 11-27.

Brown, L. (1974). The reluctant reformation. On criticizing the press in America. New York: David McKay.

Carr-Sounders, A.M. & Wilson, P.A. (1933). The professions. Oxford: Clarendon.

Cillié, P.J. (1967). Koerante en koerantmense vir ons tyd. Unpublished paper delivered on 1977-03-20 at the University of Stellenbosch.

Cillié, P.J. (1980a). Die ondersoekende plig van die pers. Ecquid Novi, 1(1), 8-15.

Cillié, P.J. (1980b). The conditions for a free, vigorous and responsible press in South Africa. Ecquid Novi, 1(2),

Cohen, S. and Young, J. eds. (1973). The manufacture of news. Social problems, deviance and the mass media. London: Constable.

Daniels, A.K. (1973). How free should professions be? In: Freidson, E. ed. (1973). The professions and their prospects. Beverly Hills: Sage, 39-57.

De Beer, A.S. (1977). Nuuswaardes en nuuswaardigheid. Johannesburg: De Jong.

De Beer, A.S. (1980). Die professionalisering van die joernalistiek - 'n perswetenskaplike analise van 'n noodsaaklike vereiste vir die tagtigerjare. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation: Potchefstroom University, Potchefstroom, Republic of South Africa.

Denzin, N.K. (1973). The research act. Chicago: Aldine.

Diamond, E. (1976). Self-criticism invades the U.S. press. Washington: United States Information Service, Horizons, no. 15.

Emery, E. & Emery, M. (1978). The press and America. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

Fascell, D.B. (1979). International news. Freedom under attack. London: Sage.

Fathi, A. (1973). Diffusion of a 'happy news event'. Journalism Quarterly, 50, 271-277.

Flexner, A. (1915). Is social work a profession? Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Corrections, Chicago, U.S.A., 576-590.

Freidson, E. ed. (1973). Professions and the occupational principle. In: Freidson, E. ed. (1973). The professions and their prospects. Beverly Hills: Sage, 19-38.

Gallagher, W. (1965). A case for the professional. Nieman Reports, 25(3), 11-12.

Galow, C.F. (1973). A comparison of one newspaper's editor and subscriber news values. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation: Oklahoma State University, U.S.A.

Gieber, W. (1956). Across the desk: a study of 16 telegraph editors. Journalism Quarterly, 33, 423-432.

Glasser, T.L. & Donohue, T.R. (1978). The consequences of objective reporting: the case of 'redlining' in Hartford. Unpublished paper: Association for Education in Journalism, Annual Convention, Seattle, U.S.A.

Glessing, R.J. (1970). The underground press in America. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Golding, P. (1974). The mass media. London: Longman.

Greenwood, E. (1966). The elements of professionalization. In: Vollmer, H.M. & Mills, D.L. eds. (1966). Professionalization. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 9-19.

Hardt, H. (1979). Social theories of the press. Early German & American perspectives. London: Sage.

Harris, J. & Stanley, S. (1965). The complete reporter. New York: Macmillan.

Head, S.W. (1963). Can a journalist be a 'professional' in a developing country? Journalism Quarterly, 40, 594-598.

Hendriks, A. (1976). Persraden: pro en contra. Communicatie, 6(1) 21-22.

Hohenberg, J. (1978). A crises for the American press. New York: Columbia University Press.

Hughes, E.C. (1965). Professions. In: Lynn, K.S. ed. (1965). The professions in America. Boston: Houghton.

Hulteng, J.L. (1976). The messenger's motives ... ethical problems of the news media. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

Hulteng, J.L. (1979). The news media - What makes them tick? Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

Johnson, K.G. (1963). Dimensions of judgment of science news stories. Journalism Quarterly, 40, 315-322.

Johnstone, J.W.C. Slawski, E.J. & Bowman, W.W. (1972). The professional values of American newsmen. Public Opinion Quarterly, 36, 522-540.

Lattimore, D.L. & Nayman, O.B. (1974). Professionalism of Colorado's daily newsmen. Gazette, 20, 1-10.

LeRoy, D.J. (1972-73). Levels of professionalism in a sample of television newsmen. Journal of Broadcasting, 17(1), 51-62.

LeRoy, D.J. (1973). Journalism as a profession. In: LeRoy, D.J. & Sterling, C.H. eds. (1973).

LeRoy, D.J. & Sterling, C.H. eds. (1973). Mass news - practices, controversies, and alternatives. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 250-263.

Lieberman, M. (1956). Education as a profession. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

McCombs, M.E. & Becker, L.B. (1979). Using mass communication theory. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

McLeod, J.M. & Hawley, S.E. (Jr.) (1964). Professionalization among newsmen. Journalism Quarterly, 41, 529-538; 577.

McLeod, J.M. & Rush, R.R. (1969). Professionalization of Latin American and U.S. journalists: Part I and Part II. Journalism Quarterly, 46, 583-590; 46, 784-789.

Martin, R.K., O'Keefe, G.J. & Nayman, O.B. (1972). Opinion agreement and accuracy between editors and their readers. Journalism Quarterly, 49, 460-468.

Merrill, J.C. (1974). The emperative of freedom - a philosophy of journalistic autonomy. New York: Hastings House.

Merrill, J.C. (1977). Existential Journalism. New York: Hastings House.

Mok, A.L. (1973). Beroepen in actie. Bijdrage tot een beroepensociologie. Meppel: Boom.

Moore, W.E. (1970). The professions: roles and rules. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

NCTJ: see National Council for the Training of Journalists.

National Council for the Training of Journalists. (1975). Training in journalism - handbook of the N.C.T.J. Epping, Essex: Harp House.

Nayman, O.B. (1973). Professional orientations of journalists: an introduction to communicator analysis studies. Gazette, 19, 195-212.

Nell, V. (1978). News value rankings and power motive scores. Communicatio, 4(1), 40-43.

Paul, N.S. (1972). Why the British Press Council works. Columbia Journalism Review, 10(6), 20-26.

Pavalko, R.M. (1971). Sociology of occupations and professions. Itasca, Illinois: Peacock.

Pienaar, G.J. (1968). Persensuur en staatsveiligheid. Potchefstroom: Potchefstroom University. Unpublished D.Phil. dissertation.

Pienaar, G.J. (1977). Joernalistieke onderrig - 'n toekomsbeskouing. First South African Conference on Journalism Education: Johannesburg: Rand Afrikaans University.

Platel, M. (1971). Het recht van antwoord in de communicatiemedia. Brussel: Elsevier.

Rampal, K.R. (1976). Press councils of the world: role and experience. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation: University of Missouri-Columbia, U.S.A.

Ritzer, G. (1973). Professionalism and the individual. In: Freidson (1973), 59-74.

Rivers, W.L. & Schramm, W. (1969). Responsibility in mass communication. New York: Harper & Row.

Sanders, K.P. (1975). What are daily newspapers doing to be responsive to reader's criticisms? A survey of U.S. daily newspaper accountability systems. In: Rarick, G. ed. (1975). News research for better newspapers. Washington, D.C.: American Newspaper Publisheers Association Foundation, 148-168.

Sandman, P.M., Rubin, D.M. & Sachsman, D.B. (1976). Media. An introductory analysis of American communications. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

Schlesinger, P. (1978). Putting 'reality' together. BBC news. London: Constable.

Schmidt, B.C. (1976). Freedom of the press vs. public access. New York: Praeger.

Schwartz, S.H. (1977). The emerging professional community of journalists: a case of multi-national professionalization? Unpublished paper: International Communication Association, Annual Meeting, Berlin, West-Germany.

Schwartz, S.H. (1978a). A Q-study of the value structure and professionalism of 35 reporters, editors, and photographers from five daily newspapers in New York, Connecticut, and Massachusetts. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation: Temple University, U.S.A.

Schwartz, S.H. (1978b). Inner-directed and other-directed values of professional journalists. Journalism Quarterly, 55, 721-725; 754.

Shaw, D. (1977). Journalism today: a changing press for a changing America. New York: Harper's College Press.

Steyn, A.F. (1976). Die professionalisering van 'n beroep. Suid-Afrikaanse Biblioteke, 43, 111-119.

Steyn Commission: Verslag van die Kommissie van Ondersoek na Beriggewing oor Sekerheidsaangeleenthede rakende die Suid-Afrikaanse Weermag en die Suid-Afrikaanse Polisie. Pretoria: Staatsdrukker. 1980.

Surlin, S.H. (1970). Fatalism and authoritarianism: predictors of professional attitudes in journalism. Journalism Quarterly, 53, 68-73.

Taylor, L. (1968). Occupational sociology. New York: Oxford University Press.

Tuchman, G. (1971/72). Objectivity as strategic ritual: an examination of newsmen's notions of objectivity. American Journal of Sociology, 77, 660-679.

Tuchman, G. (1973). Making news by doing work: routinizing the unexpected. American Journal of Sociology, 79, 110-131.

Tuchman, G. (1978). Making news, a study in the construction of reality. London: The Free Press.

Tunstall, J. (1978). British communicator occupations. Unpublished paper: Association for Education in Journalism, Annual Convention, Seattle, U.S.A.

Weber, M. (1946). From Max Weber: Essays in sociology. (H.H. Gerth & C.W. Mills, eds. & translators). New York: Oxford University Press.

Wentink, T. (1972). De journalist in de dagbladorganisatie. Semi-professionalisme in een bureaukratische struktuur. Massacommunicatie, 1(2), 75-101.

Wilensky, H.L. (1964). The professionalization of everyone? The American Journal of Sociology, 70(2), 137-158.

Windahl, S. & Rosengren, K.E. (1976). The professionalization of Swedish journalists. Gazette, 22, 140-149.

Wright, D.K. (1978). Ethical idealism: a look at journalists and professionalism. Unpublished paper: Association for Education in journalism, Annual Convention, Seattle, U.S.A.

FOOTNOTE

1. It was not the purpose of the present paper to discuss the development and conceptualization of the journalistic professionalism model as such. This was done in De Beer (1980). In this research the origins and development of professionalism were discussed (e.g. Wilensky, 1964; Durkheim, 1957; Mok, 1973; Daheim, 1967; Künzel, 1970; Montagna, 1977), as well as the main criticisms of this phenomenon, such as the New Marxist concept of the professions as perpetuators of the capitalistic system (Illich, 1977; Heraud, 1973), and as a method of identifying and anlayzing professions by means of attributes (Halmos, 1973; McKinlay, 1973). Through an analysis of the literature it was argued that the professions fulfil a necessary and important role in late twentieth century capitalistic society (Freidson, 1973; Goode, 1960; Vollmer & Mills, 1966). Special emphasis was placed on research done in the field of communication/journalism in developing the present model (conceptual studies, e.g. Kimball, 1965; Ashmore, 1972; Gallagher, 1965; Wentink, 1972; Windahl & Rosengren, 1976; 78; Nagpaul, 1971; Starck & Sudhaker, 1978; Nayman, 1973; Schwartz, 1977; 1978; as well as empirical research, e.g. McLeod & Hawley, 1964; Wright, 1974; Wright, 1976; Lattimore & Nayman, 1974; Weinthal & O'Keefe, 1974; Terry, 1978; McLeod & Rush, 1969; Nayman, Atkin & O'Keefe, 1973; Eapen, 1969; Coldwell, 1974; Wood, 1977; Nayman, McKee & Lattimore, 1977; De la Garde, 1975; Barrett, 1975; Johnstone, Slawski & Bowman, 1972; Tunstall, 1971). (For reference detail see De Beer, 1980: 821-853.)

---oOo---